

RECHERCHES ET ETUDES  
SUR L'HISTOIRE  
DU PEUPLE BULGARE

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L'HISTOIRE  
BULGARE

DANS

LES OUVRAGES  
DES SAVANTS  
EUROPEENS



ACADEMIE BULGARE  
DES SCIENCES



# ACADEMIE BULGARE DES SCIENCES

INSTITUT D'HISTOIRE

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И ПОСЛОВ. В. ПАСКАЛИВ

ПОСЛОВ

Le présent ouvrage est le résultat de la collaboration de deux auteurs, S. Panchev et V. Pascalev, qui ont travaillé ensemble pendant plusieurs années. L'ouvrage est divisé en deux parties. La première partie est consacrée à l'histoire de la Bulgarie, et la seconde partie est consacrée à l'histoire de la Macédoine. L'ouvrage est écrit en français et est destiné à un public de chercheurs et de étudiants. L'ouvrage est publié par l'Académie bulgare des sciences, Institut d'histoire, Institut d'études balkaniques.

Pour de temps en temps, l'auteur a pu consulter les archives de l'Académie bulgare des sciences, Institut d'histoire, Institut d'études balkaniques. L'ouvrage est écrit en français et est destiné à un public de chercheurs et de étudiants. L'ouvrage est publié par l'Académie bulgare des sciences, Institut d'histoire, Institut d'études balkaniques.

SOFIA · 1969

EDITIONS DE L'ACADEMIE BULGARE DES SCIENCES



## AVANT-PROPOS

Le début de la Renaissance bulgare, que nous situons chronologiquement au temps de l'„Histoire Slavo-bulgare“ de Paisij (1762), coïncide avec l'apparition de l'intérêt scientifique dans l'historiographie européenne pour le passé du peuple bulgare. A la veille de la Grande révolution française et après le triomphe du nouvel ordre social, la pensée historique en Europe s'affranchit des liens de l'obscurantisme et du mysticisme médiévaux, des formes traditionnelles d'enregistrer simplement les événements, d'écrire la vie de personnalités, pour prendre l'allure d'une science sociale moderne.

Les historiens allemands Thunman et Engel, contemporains de Paisij Hilendarski, se mirent à expliciter scientifiquement la question de l'origine des Protobulgares qui, avec les Slaves, fondèrent le premier Etat slave sur la péninsule Balkanique. En Russie, en 1829, le jeune chercheur ukrainien Juri Venelin, bénéficiant de l'assistance de l'éminent slaviste russe M. A. Pogodin, publia son remarquable écrit „Древние и нынешние болгары“ („Les Bulgares anciens et actuels“), qui joua le même rôle que l'Histoire de Paisij, pour la prise de conscience nationale des émigrés bulgares et pour faire connaître au public russe le passé de ce peuple. Ceci est exprimé, pour le mieux, dans l'inscription du monument élevé par les Bulgares d'Odessa, sur le tombeau de Venelin: „Il rappela au monde l'existence du peuple bulgare oublié, mais autrefois glorieux et puissant, et désirait ardemment voir sa Renaissance“.

Peu de temps avant Venelin, le premier philologue serbe et réformateur de la langue littéraire serbe, Vuk Karadžić, dans son ouvrage „Annexe aux dictionnaires de Saint-Pétersbourg des langues et dialectes, en égard à la langue bulgare“, publié à Vienne en 1822, vint placer la langue bulgare et ses traits caractéristiques, dans la classification scientifique des langues slaves, après avoir puisé ses renseignements au parler bulgare de Razlog.

L'apparition du slavophilisme, ce nouveau courant scientifique, littéraire et mouvement social, était rattachée à la Renaissance culturelle et nationale des peuples slaves, à leur entrée dans l'histoire européenne du XIX<sup>e</sup> s., comme facteurs de conséquence. Cela donna une nouvelle impulsion aux recherches slaves, y compris celles portant sur le passé, la langue, les mœurs et coutumes, la culture du peuple bulgare.

Les savants russes, V. I. Grigorovič et A. F. Hilferding,<sup>1</sup> ont fait d'importantes recherches dans les pays balkaniques, et ont publié des ouvrages

<sup>1</sup> В. И. Григоровичъ, Очеркъ путешествія по Европейской Турціи, 2-е издание, Москва, 1877; А. Ф. Гильфердингъ, Поѣздка по Герцеговинѣ, Боснии Старой Сербіи (Собрание сочинений, III), Спб, 1873.



sur la condition des Bulgares sous domination ottomane. Les Français Ami Boué, Esprit-Marie Cousinéry, J.-A. Blanqui, Guillaume Lejean,<sup>2</sup> les savants allemands August Griesebach, J. G. von Hahn, Heinrich Kiepert,<sup>3</sup> les Anglais Mackenzie et Irby,<sup>4</sup> le Croate St. Verković<sup>5</sup>, etc. ont voyagé et parcouru aussi les provinces européennes de la Turquie, et ont écrit des ouvrages, reflétant leurs observations directes de l'ethnographie, la langue, les us et coutumes et le développement des peuples balkaniques et, en premier lieu du peuple bulgare.

A cette époque, le peuple bulgare avait fait valoir son droit à une existence nationale, en luttant tenacement pour son affranchissement culturel et politique et son indépendance. Le mouvement était de caractère national et démocratique. Il avait gagné toutes les terres bulgares, toutes les couches sociales de la nation bulgare en état de consolidation, et acquis un élan et une envergure exceptionnels. Tout ceci est fidèlement reproduit dans les écrits des savants et voyageurs européens.

Alors que l'historiographie bulgare posait les fondements scientifiques et donnait un représentant éminent en la personne de Marin Drinov, professeur à l'Université de Charkov, des ouvrages de synthèse sur le passé du peuple bulgare paraissaient en Europe.

En 1876, le savant tchèque Constantin Jireček publia en langue allemande „L'Histoire des Bulgares“, qui parut, deux ans plus tard, en seconde édition complétée, aussi en russe. Les savants russes Matvej Sokolov et Feodor Uspenskij, partant de sources documentaires et d'analyses scientifiques des événements, publièrent les écrits „Из древней истории болгар“ („Sur l'Histoire ancienne des Bulgares“) (1879) et „Образование второго болгарского царства“ („La constitution du Deuxième Etat Bulgare“) (1879).

De même, après la libération de la Bulgarie, maints savants historiens, linguistes, ethnographes et hommes politiques en Russie, dans les pays slaves et en Europe occidentale, poursuivirent leurs études sur l'histoire, la culture et le développement du peuple bulgare. Leur intérêt scientifique s'orientait vers le jeune Etat bulgare, vers son développement politique, économique et culturel, mais aussi vers les conditions et les luttes du reste de la population bulgare, restée sous la domination ottomane, en vertu du traité de Berlin, habitant la Macédoine et la Thrace, vers l'Insurrection d'Illinden en 1903, point culminant de l'activité révolutionnaire bulgare, vers la politique des Grandes Puissances dans les Balkans, vers la participation du peuple bulgare aux Guerres Balkaniques et à la Première Guerre Mondiale et les conditions du peuple bulgare dans la période d'après-guerre.

Malgré les catastrophes nationales que connut la Bulgarie à la suite de la politique d'aventure et d'imprévoyance des gouvernements bourgeois et

<sup>2</sup> Ami Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, vol. I—IV, Paris, 1840; Esprit-Marie Cousinéry, *Voyage dans la Macédoine*, 2 vol., Paris, 1831; J.-A. Blanqui, *Voyage en Bulgarie pendant l'année 1841*, Paris, 1845; Guillaume Lejean, *Ethnographie de la Turquie d'Europe*, Gotha, Justus Perthes, 1861.

<sup>3</sup> August Griesebach, *Reise durch Rumelien*, Göttingen, 1841; J. G. von Hahn, *Reise von Belgrad nach Salonik*, Wien, 1861; Heinrich Kiepert, *Ethnographische Übersicht des Europäischen Orients*, Berlin, 1876.

<sup>4</sup> G. M. Mackenzie and A. P. Irby, *The Turks, the Greeks and the Slavons. Travels in the Slavonic Provinces of Turkey-in-Europe*, London, 1867, With Maps, etc.

<sup>5</sup> Стефанъ И. Верковичъ, *Народне песме македонскихъ бугара, у Београду*, 1860; *Описание быта болгаръ населяющихъ Македонію*, Москва, 1868.



monarchistes bulgares, de grands savants slaves et bulgares, en Russie, aux pays slaves et en Europe occidentale, tels Deržavin, Seliščev, Niederle, Sis, Léger, Lamouche, Weigand et d'autres encore, s'en tenaient dans leurs études objectives fermement à la vérité historique sur le passé, la langue et la destinée du peuple bulgare, qu'elles défendaient par les arguments de la science. „Le devoir des savants, écrit l'académicien français Louis Léger, en 1917, est avant tout de rechercher et de proclamer la vérité.“

Nous ne pouvons donner ici une vue d'ensemble de l'historiographie européenne sur l'histoire de la Bulgarie. Il n'en est nul besoin, du reste. Il convient, tout de même, de relever qu'elle constitue une partie importante des études sur la Bulgarie et que les ouvrages de ses éminents représentants ont conservé jusqu'à ce jour, leur valeur scientifique.

Les historiens bulgares ont le devoir moral de désigner au monde scientifique tous les savants étrangers qui ont contribué, avec leurs recherches, à faire connaître le peuple bulgare dans leurs pays, tout en enrichissant la teneur scientifique de l'histoire de la Bulgarie.

Récemment, la science historique en Bulgarie a pris à tâche de faire une étude d'ensemble du développement du peuple bulgare. Les efforts ont été dirigés sur l'investigation du processus objectif historique dans toute sa complexité et sa diversité, sur le fonds du développement général dans les Balkans et en Europe. Il s'agit en l'occurrence d'embrasser, d'analyser et d'élucider toutes les époques importantes, les processus et éléments remarquables du passé des Bulgares, au cours de leur développement séculaire.

Pour venir à bout de cette tâche, l'Académie bulgare des Sciences s'est mise à publier des séries de recueils documentaires qui constituent une solide base scientifique pour l'étude du passé du peuple bulgare. On a préparé et publié des dizaines de volumes, contenant des sources grecques, latines, russes, allemandes, turques-ottomanes et autres, toutes relatives à l'histoire de la Bulgarie. On est à la recherche de nouveaux matériaux documentaires, dans les archives nationales bulgares et étrangères. On procède à la publication d'une série de relations de voyage, d'auteurs étrangers, qui parcoururent les terres bulgares et écrivirent leurs impressions de la vie économique, sociale et culturelle de la population, aux diverses époques.

Présentement, la science bulgare commence la publication d'une nouvelle série de volumes qui embrasse les investigations d'auteurs étrangers, ayant pour objet l'histoire du peuple bulgare. Le but de cette série est d'exposer le point de vue des savants étrangers: historiens, slavistes, ethnographes, etc. sur nombre de questions d'importance essentielle pour l'histoire de la Bulgarie.

Ce premier volume comprend des ouvrages de vingt-deux auteurs, qui ont traité des problèmes de diverses périodes de l'histoire de la Bulgarie — partant des premiers siècles de son existence, passant par le Moyen Age, la période ottomane, la Renaissance, l'édification du nouvel Etat bulgare, pour arriver jusqu'aux années après la Première Guerre Mondiale. Les auteurs des ouvrages publiés, tous savants éminents et de renom, représentent différentes nationalités, différentes générations d'historiens et écoles scientifiques, spécialisés dans l'histoire de différentes époques. En raison d'interprétations incorrectes et fausses, devenues chose fréquente ces temps derniers, qui en viennent à des écarts manifestes de la vérité scientifique sur le passé, le mode



de vie et la culture de la population bulgare en Macédoine, on a donné dans ce volume prépondérance aux œuvres touchant à ces questions.

De par leur appartenance nationale, ces auteurs se répartissent ainsi: Russes — trois, Tchèques et Slovaques — trois, Serbes, Croates et Slovènes — cinq Français — cinq, Allemands — trois, Anglais — un et Belges — deux. Et d'après la langue de l'édition, ces ouvrages sont: en russe — cinq, en français — huit, en allemand — six, en serbo-croate — quatre et en anglais — un.

En principe, dans ce volume, les extraits sont donnés in extenso. Pourtant, la nécessité de conserver à l'édition des dimensions supportables a obligé les auteurs à réduire ces extraits à des passages particuliers. Mais ces passages sont reproduits en entier tels qu'ils se trouvent dans les éditions mentionnées. Certains de ces extraits sont accompagnés, si besoin est, d'un commentaire minimal, visant à éclaircir seulement quelque question imprécise, se rapportant à la reproduction technique du texte, telle que abréviations, mise au point de certains noms ou événements mentionnés, etc. Le but poursuivi est de présenter les ouvrages sans aucune intervention, tels qu'ils ont été publiés par leurs auteurs, de manière à permettre au lecteur de suivre au mieux la pensée des auteurs respectifs des ouvrages reproduits.

Ces efforts, visant à une exactitude documentaire de la reproduction des textes, doivent être pris en considération lors de la lecture des ouvrages cités. Les investigations comprises dans ce volume contiennent maintes thèses, au sujet desquelles la science a fait des progrès, surtout au point de vue méthodologique. En outre, de nouvelles thèses existent au sujet de certains événements et faits, maintes considérations sont déjà surmontées; à leur endroit, les personnes préposées à l'édition de ce volume ne prennent aucun parti, vu le caractère de cette publication. Le choix d'ouvrages de différentes époques et de divers auteurs, que comporte ce volume, permet de voir la science historique étrangère au sujet de la Bulgarie et du peuple bulgare en cours de développement, en mouvement, en commençant par des historiens des siècles passés, érudits du début du XX<sup>e</sup> s., pour en venir aux auteurs de l'époque actuelle.

Dans ce premier volume, les différents auteurs sont rangés par ordre alphabétique de leurs noms de famille, tels qu'ils sont connus de la science. Les textes sont reproduits dans la langue originale de leur publication: russe, allemand, français, anglais et serbo-croate. Toujours en considération de l'exactitude documentaire, on a retenu aussi l'orthographe respective que les ouvrages ont eue lors de leur parution.

Deux indexes sont annexés au volume: nominatif et géographique. Ils visent à augmenter la valeur référentielle de l'édition.

Les chercheurs bulgares qui ont préparé ce volume estiment que ce sera là un bon début qui enrichira la science historique. Ils espèrent que le public littéraire et scientifique, en Bulgarie et à l'étranger, lui réserveront un bon accueil.

VOJN BOŽINOV

VESELIN TRAJKOV



**BURY, JOHN B.** (1861—1927). Eminent byzantiniste anglais, professeur à l'Université de Dublin et à celle de Cambridge. Savant d'une vaste érudition. Ses études sur l'histoire de la politique extérieure de Byzance constitue son plus grand apport dans ce domaine. Parmi ses ouvrages la place d'honneur est tenue par son histoire de Byzance pendant l'époque de la haute féodalité: *A history of the Eastern Roman Empire (802-867)*, London, 1912, où sont examinés les événements historiques survenus dans les terres bulgares du Sud-Ouest au temps du Premier Etat bulgare.

## Chapter XII

### THE CONVERSION OF THE SLAVS AND BULGARIANS

#### § 1. THE SLAVS IN GREECE

The ninth century was a critical period in the history of the Slavonic world. If in the year A. D. 800 a political prophet had possessed a map of Europe, such as we can now construct, he might have been tempted to predict that the whole eastern half of the continent, from the Danish peninsula to the Peloponnesus, was destined to form a Slavonic empire, or at least a solid group of Slavonic kingdoms. From the mouth of the Elbe to the Ionian Sea there was a continuous line of Slavonic peoples—the Abodrites, the Wilzi, the Sorbs, the Lusatians, the Bohemians, the Slovenes, the Croatians, and the Slavonic settlements in Macedonia and Greece. Behind them were the Lechs of Poland, the kingdom of Great Moravia, Servia, and the strongly organized kingdom of Bulgaria; while farther in the background were all the tribes which were to form the nucleus of unborn Russia. Thus a vertical line from Denmark to the Adriatic seemed to mark the limit of the Teutonic world, beyond which it might have been deemed impossible that German arms would make any permanent impression on the serried array of Slavs; while in the Balkan peninsula it might have appeared not improbable that the Bulgarian power, which had hitherto proved a formidable antagonist to Byzantium, would expand over Illyricum and Greece, and ultimately drive the Greeks from Constantinople. Such was the horoscope of nations which



might plausibly have been drawn from a European chart, and which the history of the next two hundred years was destined to falsify. At the beginning of the eleventh century the Western Empire of the Germans had extended its power far and irretrievably beyond the Elbe, while the Eastern Empire of the Greeks had trampled the Bulgarian power under foot. And in the meantime the Hungarians had inserted themselves like a wedge between the Slavs of the north and the Slavs of the south. On the other hand, two things had happened which were of great moment for the future of the Slavonic race: the religion of the Greeks and the Teutons had spread among the Slavs, and the kingdom of Russia had been created. The beginnings of both these movements, which were slow and gradual, fall in the period when the Amorian dynasty reigned at New Rome.<sup>1</sup>

It was under the auspices of Michael III. that the unruly Slavonic tribes in the Peloponnesus were finally brought under the control of the government, and the credit of their subjugation is probably to be imputed to Theodora and her fellow-regents. The Slavs were diffused all over the peninsula, but the evidence of place-names indicates that their settlements were thickest in Arcadia and Elis, Messenia, Laconia, and Achaia.<sup>2</sup> In the plains of Elis, on the slopes of Taygetos, and in the great marshlands of the lower Eurotas, they seem almost entirely to have replaced the ancient inhabitants. Somewhere between Sparta and Megalopolis was the great Slavonic town Veligosti, of which no traces remain. Of the tribes we know only the names of the Milings and the Ezerites. The Milings had settled in the secure fastnesses of Taygetos; the Ezerites, or Lake-men, abode in the neighbouring Helos or marshland, from which they took their name.<sup>3</sup> Living independently under their own župans, they seized every favourable opportunity of robbery and plunder. In the reign of Nicephorus (A. D. 807) they formed a conspiracy with the Saracens of Africa<sup>4</sup> to attack the rich city of Patrae. The stratêgos of the province whose residence was at Corinth, de-

<sup>1</sup> The introduction of Christianity among the Croatians and Servians was of older date.

<sup>2</sup> See Philippson, i. 3-4; Gregorovius, *Athen*, i. 113 sqq.; G. Meyer, *Aufsätze und Studien* (1885), 140. The place-names still require a thoroughgoing investigation. Not a few, which have been taken for Slavonic, may be Greek or Albanian. *E. g.* Malevo — the name of Parnon and other mountains — was explained as Slavonic by Fallmerayer and Gregorovius, but it is undoubtedly Albanian, from *μαλλj*, "mountain," as Philippson points out (*ib.* 8). Goritsa is often enumerated among the Slavonic names, but it may come from A-goritsa (*ἀγορά*). But there are plenty about which there can be no doubt (such as Krivitsa, Garditsa, Kamenitsa).

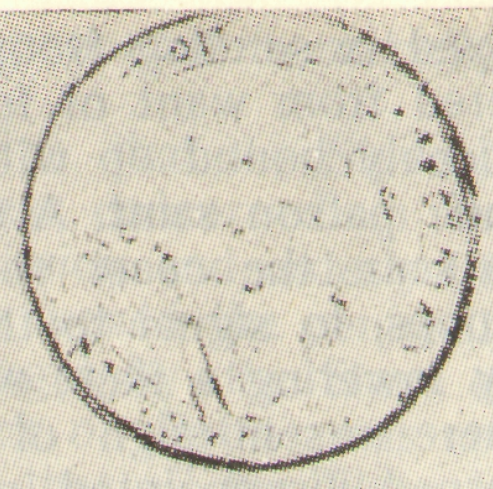
<sup>3</sup> *Ezero*, Slavonic for lake.

<sup>4</sup> The source is Constantine, *De adm. imp.* c. 49. He says that the story was told orally (*ἀγοράως*) during their lifetime by contemporaries to the younger generation. But the genuine source was the *σίγillon* (seal) or charter of Nicephorus, to which he refers, and which was extant in the eleventh century. For it is cited in a Synodal Letter of the Patriarch Nicolaus in the reign of Alexius I.; see Leunclavius, *Jus Graeco-Romanum*, p. 278 (1596), or Migne. *P. G.* 119, 877. Here the occurrence is briefly described, and dated 218 years after the occupation of the Peloponnesus, which the Patriarch connected with the invasion of A. D. 589 (Evagrius, vi. 10). Hence we get the date A. D. 807 for the siege of Patrae (cp. Fallmerayer, *Morea*, i. 185). But the Patriarch speaks of Avars, not of Slavs. Are we to infer that there was an Avar settlement in the Peloponnesus, that Avars joined the Slavs in the attack, and were mentioned in the Chrysobull of Nicephorus? I drew this inference in a paper on Navarino (*Hermathena*, xxxi. 430 sqq., 1905), connecting it with the interpretation of Avarinos — the original name of Navarino — as an Avar settlement. See also Miller in *Eng. Hist. Review*, 20, 307 sqq. (1905). But another possible derivation is from the Slavonic *javorŭ*, "maple," so that the name would mean "maple-wood"; cp. *Ἀβαρίτσα* in Epirus, *Ἀβόρος* in Phocis: G. Meyer, *Analecta Graeciensia*, 12 (1893).



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A HISTORY  
OF THE  
EASTERN ROMAN EMPIRE

FROM THE FALL OF IRENE TO THE  
ACCESSION OF BASIL I.

(A.D. 802-867)

BY

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layed in sending troops to relieve the besieged town, and the citizens suffered from want of food and water. The story of their deliverance is inextricably bound up with a legend of supernatural aid, vouchsafed to them by their patron saint. A scout was sent to a hill, east of the town, anxiously to scan the coast road from Corinth, and if he saw the approach of the troops, to signal to the inhabitants, when he came within sight of the walls, by lowering a flag; while if he kept the flag erect, it would be known that there was no sign of the help which was so impatiently expected. He returned disappointed, with his flag erect, but his horse slipped and the flag was lowered in the rider's fall. The incident was afterwards imputed to the direct interposition of the Deity, who had been moved to resort to this artifice by the intercessions of St. Andrew, the guardian of Patrae. The citizens, meanwhile, seeing the flag fall, and supposing that succour was at hand, immediately opened the gates and fell upon the Saracens and the Slavs. Conspicuous in their ranks rode a great horseman, whose more than human appearance terrified the barbarians. Aided by this champion, who was no other than St. Andrew himself, the Greeks routed the enemy and won great booty and many captives. Two days later the stratêgos arrived, and sent a full report of all the miraculous circumstances to the Emperor, who issued a charter for the Church of St. Andrew, ordaining that the defeated Slavs, their families, and all their belongings should become the property of the Church "inasmuch as the triumph and the victory were the work of the apostle." A particular duty was imposed upon these Slavs, a duty which hitherto had probably been a burden upon the town. They were obliged to provide and defray the board and entertainment of all Imperial officials who visited Patrae, and also of all foreign ambassadors who halted there on their way to and from Italy and Constantinople. For this purpose they had to maintain in the city a staff of servants and cooks.<sup>1</sup> The Emperor also made the bishopric of Patrae a Metropolis, and submitted to its control the sees of Methone, Lacedaemon, and Korone.<sup>2</sup> It is possible that he sent military colonists from other parts of the Empire to the Peloponnesus, as well as to the regions of the Strymon and other Slavonic territories,<sup>3</sup> and if so, these may have been the Mardaites, whom we find at a later period of the ninth century playing an important part among the naval contingents of the Empire.<sup>4</sup> We may also conjecture with some probability that this settlement

<sup>1</sup> ἔχοντες ἰδίους καὶ τραπεζοποιὺς καὶ μαγείρους κτλ. The Slavs defrayed the expense ἀπὸ διανομῆς καὶ συνδοσίας τῆς ομάδος αὐτῶν. The passage is interesting, as it shows incidentally that, as we should expect, the ordinary route of travel from Italy to Constantinople was by Patrae and Corinth.

<sup>2</sup> Nicolaus, *Synodal Letter*, cit. supra.

<sup>3</sup> Theoph. 486 τὰ στρατεύματα πάντῃ ταπεινῶσαι σκεψάμενος Χριστιανὸς ἀποικίσας ἐκ παντὸς θέματος ἐπὶ τὰς Σκλαυινίας γενέσθαι προσέταξεν (A. D. 809-10); 496 οἱ τὸν Στρονμῶνα οἰκοῦντες μέτοικοι προφάσεως δραξάμενοι ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις φεύγοντες ἐπανῆλθον. (Cp. Hopf, 98, 126.) See next note.

<sup>4</sup> The western Mardaites (οἱ Μ. τῆς δύσεως) took part in the Cretan expedition of A. D. 902, and numbered with their officers 4087 men (Const. Porph. *Cer.* ii. 44. p. 655). They had fought against the Saracens in Sicily in the reign of Basil I.; *Cont. Th.* 304 τῶν κατὰ Πελοπόννησον στρατιωτῶν καὶ Μαρδαιτῶν, 311 τῶν κατὰ Πελ. Μαρδαιτῶν καὶ Ταξατῶν. As they belonged to the marine establishment, they were probably settled in the coast towns. See Bury, *Naval Policy*, 29, where their settlement in Greece is connected with the later subjugation by Theoktistos, and this seems to me rather more probable.



was immediately followed by the separation of the Peloponnesus from Hellas as a separate Theme.<sup>1</sup>

It would be too much to infer from this narrative that the Slavonic communities of Achaia and Elis, which were doubtless concerned in the attack on Patrae, were permanently reduced to submission and orderly life on this occasion, and that the later devastations which vexed the peninsula in the reigns of Theophilus and Michael III. were wrought by the Slavs of Laconia and Arcadia. It is more probable that the attack on Patrae was not confined to the inhabitants of a particular district; and that all the Slavs in the peninsula united in another effort to assert their independence before the death of Theophilus. Their rebellion, which meant the resumption of their predatory habits, was not put down till the reign of his son, and we do not know how soon. We may, however, conjecture that it was the Empress Theodora<sup>2</sup> who appointed Theoktistos Bryennios — the first recorded member of a family which was long afterwards to play a notable part in history — to be stratêgos of the Peloponnesian Theme, and placed under his command large detachments from the Themes of Thrace and Macedonia, to put an end to the rapine and brigandage of the barbarians. Theoktistos performed efficiently the work which was entrusted to him. He thoroughly subjugated the Slavs throughout the length and breadth of the land, and reduced them to the condition of provincial subjects.<sup>3</sup> There were only two tribes with whom he deemed it convenient to make special and extraordinary terms. These were the Milings, perched in places difficult of access on the slopes of Mount Taygetos, and the Ezerites in the south of Laconia. On these he was content to impose a tribute, of 60 nomismata (about £35) on the Milings, and 300 (about £180) on the Ezerites. They paid these annual dues so long at least as Theoktistos was in charge of the province, but afterwards they defied the governors, and a hundred years later their independence was a public scandal.

The reduction of the Peloponnesian Slavs in the reign of Michael prepared the way for their conversion to Christianity and their hellenization.<sup>4</sup> The process of civilization and blending required for its completion four or five centuries, and the rate of progress varied in different parts of the peninsula. The Milings maintained their separate identity longest, perhaps till the eve of the Ottoman conquest; but even in the thirteenth century Sla-

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<sup>1</sup> Michael I. appointed Leo Sklêros stratêgos of Peloponnesus, Scr. Inc. 336. We may probably attribute to Leo V. the erection of a watch-tower somewhere in the Peloponnesus, to warn the city of the approach of enemies, doubtless the Saracens, recorded in the inscription (*Corp. Inscr. Gr.* iv. No. 8620): ἀναξ Λέων ἔστησε πύργον ἐνθάδε λύχνῳ προφαίνειν τοὺς λόχους τῶν βαρβάρων. Cp. Hopf, 105.

<sup>2</sup> The sole source is Constantine, *op. cit.* 220-221. The narrative, not suggesting that the revolt lasted long, is in favour of supposing that the Slavs were reduced early in the reign of Theodora and Michael. We cannot go further than this. The date (c. 849) given by Muralt and Hopf (*Geschichte*, 127) rests on the false identification of Theoktistos Bryennios with Theoktistos the Logothete (cp. Hirsch, 220); but there is another consideration which renders the approximate dating 847-850 plausible;

<sup>3</sup> They retained their lands and customs, but their social organization under župans seems to have come to an end. (Cp. Hopf, 127.) The word župan survives in Modern Greek, ζουπάνις, in the sense of "herd."

<sup>4</sup> The foundation of monasteries and churches was one of the principal means by which the change was effected. The christianization progressed rapidly under Basil I. and his successors.



vonian tribes still lived apart from the Greeks and preserved their old customs in the region of Skorta in the mountainous districts of Elis and Arcadia.<sup>1</sup> We may say that by the fifteenth century the Slavs had ceased to be a distinct nationality; they had become part of a new mixed Greek-speaking race, destined to be still further regenerated or corrupted under Turkish rule by the absorption of the Albanians who began to pour into the Peloponnesus in the fourteenth century. That the blending of Slavonic with Greek blood had begun in the ninth century is suggested by the anecdote related of a Peloponnesian magnate, Nicetas Rentakios, whose daughter had the honour of marrying a son of the Emperor Romanus I. He was fond of boasting of his noble Hellenic descent, and drew upon himself the sharp tongue of a distinguished grammarian, who satirized in iambics his Slavonic cast of features.<sup>2</sup> But the process of hellenization was slow, and in the tenth century the Peloponnesus and northern Greece were still regarded, like Macedonia, as mainly Slavonic.<sup>3</sup>

We can designate one part of the Peloponnesus into which the Slavonic element did not penetrate, the border-region between Laconia and Argolis. Here the old population seems to have continued unchanged, and the ancient Doric tongue developed into the Tzakonian dialect, which is still spoken in the modern province of Kynuria.<sup>4</sup>

It is interesting to note that on the promontory of Taenaron in Laconia a small Hellenic community survived, little touched by the political and social changes which had transformed the Hellenistic into the Byzantine world. Surrounded by Slavs, these Hellenes lived in the fortress of Maina, and in the days of Theophilus and his son still worshipped the old gods of Greece.

<sup>1</sup> See Finlay, iv. 21, 22. It is remarkable that in the Chronicle of Morea it is only in connexion with Slavonic regions that the word *δρόγγος*, "defile," is used: *ὁ δ. τῶν Σκλαβῶν* 4605, *ὁ δ. τοῦ Μελιγγοῦ* 4531, cp. 2993, *ὁ δ. τῶν Σκορτιῶν* 5026. But notwithstanding, the etymology is not the Slavonic *dragŭ*, "wood," as G. Meyer would have it (*op. cit.* 135); *δρόγγος* is the same word as *δροῦγγος*, *drungus*, the Byzantine military term, which is derived from Germanic (Eng. *throng*). See J. Schmitt's ed. of *Chronicle of Morea*, p. 605. There are very few Slavonic words in Modern Greek. Miklosich has counted 129 ("Die slavischen Elemente im Neugriechischen," *S. B. of Vienna Acad.* lxiii., 1869).

<sup>2</sup> Const. Porph. *Them.* 53 *Εὐφήμεον ἐκεῖνον τὸν περιβόητον γραμματικὸν ἀποσκῶναι εἰς αὐτὸν τουτοῖ τὸ θρυλούμενον ἱαμβεῖον γαρασδοειδῆς ὅψις ἐσθλαβωμένη* — evidently one verse of an epigram on Nicetas. The meaning of *γαρασδοειδῆς* is a well-known puzzle. Finlay's proposal, *γαδαροειδῆς* (from *γάϊδαρος*, an ass), is unlikely, and the explanation of Sathas (see Gregorovius, *op. cit.* 150), "with the countenance of a Zoroastrian" (*Ζαράσδας*), is extremely far-fetched. I suggested that the Slavonic proper name Gorazd may underlie *γαρασδο* (Gorazd, *e. g.*, was the name of one of the pupils of the apostle Methodius); this would suit the context (*English Historical Review*, vi., Jan. 1891, p. 152).

<sup>3</sup> See the tenth-century scholiast on Strabo 7. p. 1251 (ed. Amsterdam, 1707), and, for Elis, 8. p. 1261 (*ἅπαντα γὰρ ταῦτα Σκύνθαι νέμονται*). The complicated question of race-blending in Greece requires still a thoroughgoing investigation, as Krumbacher observes (*B. Z.* 10. 368). Meanwhile consult A. Philippson, "Zur Ethnographie des Peloponnes", i. and ii., in *Petermanns Mitteilungen aus Justus Perthes' geographischer Anstalt* vol. xxxvi., 1890.

<sup>4</sup> The Tzakonian dialect perplexed philologists and was variously taken for Slavonic (Kopitar, Hopf, Philippson) and Albanian (Sathas). But the studies of Deffner (cp. his *Zakonische Grammatik*, 1881) and Thumb ("Die ethnographische Stellung der Zakonen," in *Indogermanische Forschungen*, iv. 195 sqq. 1894) have demonstrated that the Tzakones and their language are Greek. The name presents difficulties. Thumb holds that the loss of *l* was a rule in the Tzakonian dialect, and suggests the etymology: *εἰς Λακωνίαν*, 'ς *Ακωνία(ν)*, *Σακωνία*, *Τσακωνία* (comparing *σέοβουλον*: *τσέοβουλε*). The chief town in the Tzakonian district is Leonidi. Its extent is exhibited in the ethnographical map in Philippson, *op. cit.* The *Τζέκωνες* are mentioned in Constantine, *Cer.* 696.



But the days of this pagan immunity were numbered; the Olympians were soon to be driven from their last recess. Before the end of the century the Mainotes were baptized.<sup>1</sup>

## § 2. THE CONVERSION OF BULGARIA

Christianity had made some progress within the Bulgarian kingdom before the accession of Boris. It is not likely that the Roman natives of Moesia, who had become the subjects of the Bulgarian kings, did much to propagate their faith; but we can hardly doubt that some of the Slavs had been converted, and Christian prisoners of war seem to have improved the season of their captivity by attempting to proselytize their masters. The introduction of Christianity by captives is a phenomenon which meets us in other cases,<sup>2</sup> and we are not surprised to learn that some of the numerous prisoners who were carried away by Krum made efforts to spread their religion among the Bulgarians, not without success. Omurtag was deeply displeased and alarmed when he was informed of these proceedings, and when threats failed to recall the perverts to their ancestral cult, he persecuted both those who had fallen away and those who had corrupted them.<sup>3</sup> Amongst the martyrs was Manuel, the archbishop of Hadrianople.<sup>4</sup> The most illustrious proselyte is said to have been the eldest son of Omurtag himself,<sup>5</sup> who on account of his perversion was put to death by his brother Malamir.

The adoption of Christianity by pagan rulers has generally been prompted by political considerations, and has invariably a political aspect. This was eminently the case in the conversion of Bulgaria. She was entangled in the complexities of a political situation, in which the interests of both the Western and the Eastern Empire were involved. The disturbing fact was the policy of the Franks, which aimed at the extension of their power over the Slavonic states on their south-eastern frontier. Their collision with Bulgaria on the Middle Danube in the reign of Omurtag had been followed by years

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<sup>1</sup> In the reign of Basil I. See Constantine, *De adm. imp.* 224; Hopf, 129.

<sup>2</sup> *E. g.* the Goths (Wulfilas) and the Iberians.

<sup>3</sup> Theodore Stud. (*Parva Cat.* lxiii. pp. 220 *sqq.*) relates that the Bulgarian ruler, whose name, unfortunately, he does not mention (and the date of this catechesis is unknown), issued a decree that all Christians should eat meat in Lent on pain of death. Fourteen resisted the order. One was put to death, and his wife and children given as slaves to Bulgarian masters, as an example; but the others held out, and were also executed. The khan has been supposed to be Krum; cf. Auvray's note, p. 647. Theophylactus (*Hist. mart.* 192) relates that one of Krum's captives, Kinamon, was assigned to Omurtag, who became greatly attached to him, and tried to induce him to apostatize. As he was obstinate, he was thrown into a foul prison, where he remained till after Omurtag's death.

<sup>4</sup> *Cont. Th.* 217. According to the *Menologion Basilii*, Pars ii., Jan. 22, Migne, *P. G.* 117, 276, Krum put Manuel to death, cutting off his arms from his shoulders, then cleaving him in twain with a sword, and throwing the remains to wild beasts. It is added that Krum's act caused such disgust among the Bulgarians that they strangled him with ropes. All this is evidently a sensational and impudent invention.

<sup>5</sup> Theophyl. *op. cit.* 193 *sqq.* Malamir released the captive Kinamon from prison at the request of his brother Enravôtas. Kinamon converted Enravôtas, who was put to death by Malamir as an apostate. Malamir, according to this narrative (197), died three years later; this would give 848-849 for the death of Enravôtas. We have an earlier instance of apostasy on the part of a royal Bulgarian in Telerig, the refugee who accepted baptism at the court of Leo IV. (Theoph. 451).



of peace, and a treaty of alliance was concluded in A. D. 845. The efforts of King Lewis the German were at this time directed to destroying the independence of the Slavonic kingdom of Great Moravia, north of the Carpathians. Prince Rostislav was making a successful stand against the encroachments of his Teutonic neighbours, but he wanted allies sorely and he turned to Bulgaria. He succeeded in engaging the co-operation of Boris, who, though he sent an embassy to Lewis just after his accession, formed an offensive alliance with Rostislav in the following year (A. D. 853). The allies conducted a joint campaign and were defeated.<sup>1</sup> The considerations which impelled Boris to this change of policy are unknown; but it was only temporary. Nine years later he changed front. When Karlmann, who had become governor of the East Mark, revolted against his father Lewis, he was supported by Rostislav, but Boris sided with Lewis, and a new treaty of alliance was negotiated between the German and Bulgarian kings (A. D. 862).<sup>2</sup>

Moravia had need of help against the combination of Bulgaria with her German foe, and Rostislav sent an embassy to the court of Byzantium. It must have been the purpose of the ambassadors to convince the Emperor of the dangers with which the whole Illyrian peninsula was menaced by the Bulgaro-German alliance, and to induce him to attack Bulgaria.<sup>3</sup>

The Byzantine government must have known much more than we of the nature of the negotiations between Boris and Lewis. In particular, we have no information as to the price which the German offered the Bulgarian for his active assistance in suppressing the rebellion. But we have clear evidence that the question of the conversion of Bulgaria to Christianity was touched upon in the negotiations.<sup>4</sup> As a means of increasing his political influence at the Bulgarian court, this matter was of great importance to Lewis, and Boris did not decline to entertain the proposition. The interests of the Eastern Empire were directly involved. Bulgaria was a standing danger; but that danger would be seriously enhanced if she passed under the ecclesiastical supremacy of Rome and threw in her lot with Latin Christianity. It was a matter of supreme urgency to detach Boris from his connexion with Lewis, and the representatives of Rostislav may have helped Michael and his advisers to realize the full gravity of the situation. It was decided to coerce the Bulgarians, and in the summer of A. D. 863 Michael marched into their territory at the head of his army, while his fleet appeared off their coast on the Black Sea.<sup>5</sup> The moment was favourable. Bulgarian forces were absent, taking part in the campaign against Karlmann, and the country was suffering from a cruel famine. In these circumstances, the Emperor accomplished his purpose without striking a blow; the demonstration of his power sufficed to induce Boris to submit to his conditions. It was arranged that Bulgaria should receive Christianity from the Greeks and become ecclesiastically dependent on Constantinople;<sup>6</sup> that Boris should withdraw from the

<sup>1</sup> *Ann. Bert.*, s. a.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Zlatarski, 59.

<sup>3</sup> Zlatarski, 61.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. *Ann. Bert.*, s. a. 864; Zlatarski, 60.

<sup>5</sup> The meaning of this expedition has been first satisfactorily explained by Zlatarski, 62 sqq. The source is Simeon (*Cont. Geogr.* 824).

<sup>6</sup> The consent to accept Christianity was perhaps unexpected. Photius, *Ep.* 4. 168 εἰς τὴν τῶν χριστιανῶν παραδόξως μετενεκεντρίσθησαν πίστιν.



offensive alliance with Lewis and only conclude a treaty of peace.<sup>1</sup> In return for this alteration of his policy, the Emperor agreed to some territorial concessions. He surrendered to Bulgaria a district which was uninhabited and formed a march between the two realms, extending from the Iron Gate, a pass in the Stranja-Dagh, northward to Develtos.<sup>2</sup> It has been supposed that at the same time the frontier in the far west was also regulated, and that the results of the Bulgarian advance towards the Hadriatic were formally recognized.<sup>3</sup>

The brilliant victory which was gained over the Saracens in the autumn of the same year at Poson was calculated to confirm the Bulgarians in their change of policy,<sup>4</sup> and in the course of the winter the details of the treaty were arranged. The envoys whom Boris sent to Constantinople were baptized there;<sup>5</sup> this was a pledge of the loyal intentions of their master. When the peace was finally concluded (A. D. 864-5), the king himself received baptism.<sup>6</sup> The Emperor acted as his sponsor, and the royal proselyte adopted the name of Michael. The infant Church of Bulgaria was included in the see of Constantinople.<sup>7</sup>

Popular and ecclesiastical interest turned rather to the personal side of the conversion of the Bulgarian monarch than to its political aspects, and the opportunity was not lost of inventing edifying tales. According to one story, Boris became acquainted with the elements of Christian doctrine by

<sup>1</sup> This treaty was maintained for many years to come.

<sup>2</sup> *Cont. Theoph.* 165 δέδωκεν ἐρήμην οὖσαν τηρικαῦτα τὴν ἀπὸ Σιδηρᾶς, ταύτης δὲ τότε ὄριον τυγχανούσης Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ αὐτῶν ἄχρι τῆς Δεβέλτου, ἣτις οὕτω καλεῖται Ζάγορα παρ' αὐτοῖς (ἐρήμη is the antecedent of ἣτις). The credit of having explained this passage belongs to Zlatarski, *op. cit.* 65 sqq. Hitherto Σιδηρᾶ had been explained of the so-named Balkan pass (Veregava, see above, p. 339, n. 2), but the district stretching from the Balkans to Develtos was already Bulgarian. Zlatarski has seen that Σιδηρᾶ marks the southern point of the region in question, and identifies it with a pass called Demir Kapu, "Iron Gate," in the north-western hills of the Stranja-Planina, north of Losen-grad, which is near Kovchat. He places the western point of the surrendered district at the Sakar Planina. The other region, between the Eastern Balkans and the Erkesiia, was also called Zagora (= "behind the mountains").

<sup>3</sup> Zlatarski, 70 sqq. Ochrida and Glavinitsa were Bulgarian in the reign of Boris (*Vita Clementis*, c. 17, p. 24, ed. Miklosich: Kephallenia = Glavinitsa). Zlatarski carefully discusses the whereabouts of this place and concludes that (distinct from the region of Cape Glossa, on the bay of Avlonia, which was called Glavinitsa) there was an inland fortress Glavinitsa, between the rivers Voiusa (ancient Aous) and Ozum (ancient Apsus), near Mount Tomor; and he would define the western frontier of Bulgaria, in the reign of Boris, as drawn from Lake Ostrovo south-west by Kastoria, taking in Mount Grammos, reaching the middle course of the Voiusa, then turning north, reaching the Ozum and following its tributary the Devol, crossing the Skumbi west of Elbasam, thence northward to the Black Drin, which it followed to the Servian frontier. The reader will find these places on any good modern map of the Balkan peninsula (e. g. in the *Times Atlas*, Maps 69-70).

<sup>4</sup> Cp. Gen. 97.

<sup>5</sup> Zlatarski, 80 sq.

<sup>6</sup> In Bulgaria (*ib.*). Cp. Gen. *ib.*, *Cont. Th.* 163.

<sup>7</sup> The narrative fixes 864 as the earliest date for the baptism of Boris. There is other evidence. Photius, writing in A. D. 867 (*Ep.* 4. p. 168) and speaking of the Latin priests sent from Rome towards the end of A. D. 866, remarks that the Bulgarians at that time had been Christians for less than two years (οὐδ' εἰς δύο ἐνιαυτούς). This gives the date as A. D. 864-865. For A. D. 865 see my *Chronological Cycle*, p. 142, where I point out that the Bulgarian date for the baptism, given in the *Poslieslovie* of Tudor (*apud* Kalaidovich, *Ioannes Exarch*, p. 98), is to be explained as *tokh vechem*, which, on my interpretation of the chronological system, = A. D. 865. The date A. M. 6377 = A. D. 869 is given in *Vita S. Clementis*, c. 4. p. 7, for the "call" (κλησις) of the Bulgarians.



conversations with a captive monk, Theodore Kupharas. The Empress Theodora offered him a ransom for this monk, and then restored to him his sister who had been led captive by the Greeks and honourably detained in the Imperial palace at Constantinople, where she had embraced the Christian faith. When she returned to her country she laboured incessantly to convert her brother. He remained loyal to his own religion until Bulgaria was visited by a terrible famine, and then he was moved to appeal to the God whom Theodore Kupharas and his own sister had urged him to worship.<sup>1</sup> There are two points of interest in this tale. It reflects the element of feminine influence, which is said to have played a part in the conversions of many barbarian chiefs, and which, for all we know, may have co-operated in shaping the decision of Boris; and it represents the famine, which prevailed in Bulgaria at the time of Michael's invasion, as a divine visitation designed to lead that country to the true religion.<sup>2</sup> Another tale, which bears on the face of it a monkish origin, is of a more sensational kind.<sup>3</sup> Boris was passionately addicted to hunting, and he desired to feast his eyes upon the scenes of the chase during those nocturnal hours of leisure in which he could not indulge in his favourite pursuit. He sent for a Greek monk, Methodius by name, who practised the art of painting, but instead of commanding him to execute pictures of hunting as he had intended, the king was suddenly moved by a divine impulse to give him different directions. "I do not want you to depict," he said, "the slaughter of men in battle, or of animals in the hunting-field; paint anything you like that will strike terror into the hearts of those that gaze upon it." Methodius could imagine nothing more terrible than the second coming of God, and he painted a scene of the Last Judgment, exhibiting the righteous receiving their rewards, and the wicked ignominiously dismissed to their everlasting punishment. In consequence of the terror produced by this spectacle, Boris received instruction in Christian doctrine and was secretly baptized at night.

In changing his superstition, Boris had to reckon with his people, and the situation tested his strength as a king.<sup>4</sup> He forced his subjects to submit to the rite of baptism,<sup>5</sup> and his policy led to a rebellion. The nobles, incensed at his apostasy, stirred up the people to slay him, and all the Bulgarians of the ten districts of the kingdom gathered round his palace, perhaps at Pliska. We cannot tell how he succeeded in suppressing this formidable revolt, for the rest of the story, as it reached the ears of Bishop Hincmar of Reims, is of a miraculous nature. Boris had only forty-eight devoted followers, who like himself were Christians. Invoking the name of Christ,<sup>6</sup> he issued from his palace against the menacing multitude, and as

<sup>1</sup> *Cont. Th.* 162-163. The captivity of a sister of Boris seems highly improbable, but it is of course quite possible that he had a sister who was a convert.

<sup>2</sup> *Cont. Th.* 163-164. Methodius the painter has sometimes been confounded with Methodius the apostle of the Slavs.

<sup>3</sup> It is probable enough that the famine also had its psychological influence. Cp. *Ann. Bert.* 85, "Deo... signis atque afflictionibus in populo regni sui monente."

<sup>4</sup> The sources for the rebellion are (1) Nicolaus, *Responsa*, 17; (2) *Ann. Bert.* (i. e. Hincmar) A. D. 866, p. 85, which gives the details; and (3) the brief notice in *Cont. Th.* 164. In the latter there is nothing miraculous, but in the words οὗς καὶ μετὰ τινῶν ὀλίγων καταπολεμήσας it agrees with the general drift of Hincmar.

<sup>5</sup> Nicolaus, *Responsa*, *ib.* "postquam baptisati fuere." In *Cont. Th.* the baptism seems to follow the suppression of the revolt.

<sup>6</sup> So Hincmar; according to *Cont. Th.* he carried a cross on his breast.



the gates opened seven clergy, each with a lighted taper in his hand, suddenly appeared and walked in front of the royal procession. Then the rebellious crowd was affected with a strange illusion. They fancied that the palace was on fire and was about to fall on their heads, and that the horses of the king and his followers were walking erect on their hind feet and kicking them with their fore feet. Subdued by mortal terror, they could neither flee nor prepare to strike; they fell prostrate on the ground. When we are told that the king put to death fifty-two nobles, who were the active leaders of the insurrection, and spared all the rest, we are back in the region of sober facts. But Boris not only put to death the magnates who had conspired against his life; he also destroyed all their children.<sup>1</sup> This precaution against future conspiracies of sons thirsting to avenge their fathers has also a political significance as a blow struck at the dominant race, and must be taken in connexion with the gradual transformation of the Bulgarian into a Slavonic kingdom.<sup>2</sup>

Greek clergy now poured into Bulgaria to baptize and teach the people and to organize the Church. The Patriarch Photius indited a long letter to his "illustrious and well-beloved son," Michael, the Archon of Bulgaria, whom he calls the "fair jewel of his labours."<sup>3</sup> In the polished style which could only be appreciated and perhaps understood by the well-trained ears of those who had enjoyed the privilege of higher education, the Patriarch sets forth the foundations of the Christian faith. Having cited the text of the creed of Nicaea and Constantinople, he proceeds to give a brief, but too long, history of the Seven Ecumenical Councils, in order to secure his new convert against the various pitfalls of heresy which lie so close to the narrow path of orthodox belief. The second part of the letter is devoted to ethical precepts and admonitions. Having attempted to deduce the universal principles of morality from the two commandments, to love God and thy neighbour as thyself, Photius traces the portrait of the ideal prince. Isocrates had delineated a similar portrait for the instruction of Nicocles, prince of Cyprus, and Photius has blended the judicious counsels of the Athenian teacher with the wisdom of Solomon's Proverbs and Jesus the son of Sirach.<sup>4</sup> The philosophical reader observes with interest that it is not Christian but pre-Christian works to which the Patriarch resorts for his practical morality. Seldom has such a lecture been addressed to the patient ears of a barbarian convert, and we should be curious to know what ideas it conveyed to the Bulgarian king, when it was interpreted in Bulgarian or Slavonic. The theological essay of the Patriarch can hardly have simplified for the minds of Boris and his subjects those abstruse metaphysical tenets of faith which the Christian is required to profess, and the lofty ideal of conduct, which he delineated, assuredly did not help them to solve the practical difficulties of adjusting their native customs to the demands of their new religion.

<sup>1</sup> Nicolaus, *Responsa*, *ib.* "omnes primates eorum atque maiores cum omni prole sua."

<sup>2</sup> So Uspenski (*Aboba*, 105).

<sup>3</sup> ὁ καὶ ὄν ἄγαλμα τῶν ἐμῶν πόγων, *Ep.* 9. p. 204. From this and other similar expressions, Valettas (p. 202, note) hastily infers that Photius personally converted Boris. But it is not likely either that Boris came to Constantinople or that Photius went to Bulgaria. The Patriarch was doubtless active in bringing about the conversion.

<sup>4</sup> This has been shown by Valettas in his notes. There are many resemblances between the precepts of Photius and the Admonitions (*Παράγγειαι*) of Basil I. to his son Leo VI.



Not only Greek priests, but Armenians and others, busied themselves in spreading their faith, and the natives were puzzled by the discrepancies of their teaching.<sup>1</sup> A grave scandal was caused when it was discovered that a Greek who baptized many was not really a priest, and the unfortunate man was condemned by the indignant barbarians to lose his ears and nose, to be beaten with cruel stripes, and driven from the country which he had deceived.<sup>2</sup> A year's experience of the missionaries by whom his dominion was inundated may probably have disappointed Boris. Perhaps he would not have broken with Byzantium if it had not become evident that the Patriarch was determined to keep the new Church in close dependence on himself, and was reluctant to appoint a bishop for Bulgaria. But it is evident that Boris felt at the moment able to defy the Imperial government. The strained relations which existed between Rome and Constantinople suggested the probability that the Pope might easily be induced to interfere, and that under his authority the Bulgarian Church might be organized in a manner more agreeable to the king's views. Accordingly he despatched ambassadors to Rome who appeared before Pope Nicolas (August A. D. 866), asked him to send a bishop and priests to their country,<sup>3</sup> and submitted to him one hundred and six questions as to the social and religious obligations which their new faith imposed upon their countrymen. They also presented to him, along with other gifts, the arms which the king had worn when he triumphed over his unbelieving adversaries.<sup>4</sup> Boris at the same time sent an embassy to King Lewis, begging him to send a bishop and priests.<sup>5</sup> The Pope selected Paul, bishop of Populonia and Formosus, bishop of Porto, as his legates, to introduce the Roman rites in Bulgaria, and add a new province to his spiritual empire. He provided them with the necessary ecclesiastical books and paraphernalia, and he sent by their hands a full reply in writing to the numerous questions, trivial or important, on which the Bulgarians had consulted him.

This papal document is marked by the caution and moderation which have generally characterized the policy of the ablest Popes when they have not been quite sure of their ground. It is evident that Nicolas was anxious not to lay too heavy a yoke upon the converts, and it is interesting to notice what he permits and what he forbids. He insists on the observance of the fasts of the Church, on abstinence from work on holy days, on the prohibition of marriages within the forbidden degrees. Besides these taboos, he lays down that it is unlawful to enter a church with a turban on the

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<sup>1</sup> Nic. *Resp.* 106. Snopek (*Konst.-Cyr.* 17) states that the Armenians mentioned here were Paulicians. This seems highly probable.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* 14.

<sup>3</sup> *Ann. Bert.* 86; for the date, *Vit. Nicol. pap.* 156. The names of the Bulgarian envoys were Peter, a relative of Boris, John, and Martin; Mansi, xvii. 128 (in a letter of Pope John viii.).

<sup>4</sup> *Ann. Bert. ib.* King Lewis, when he heard of this, bade the Pope send the arms, etc. to him.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.* Lewis asked his brother the Emperor Charles to send him vessels, vestments, and books for the use of the Bulgarian Church; "und Karolus ab episcopis regni sui non parvam summam accipiens misit ei ad dirigendum regi" (I have inserted *misit*, which seems indispensable). Lewis sent a bishop with priests and deacons, but finding that the bishops sent by the Pope were already actively engaged in baptizing, they immediately returned: *Ann. Fuld.* 380 (A. D. 867).



head,<sup>1</sup> and that no food may be tasted before nine o'clock in the morning. On the other hand, he discountenances some taboos which the Greek priests had sought to impose, that it is unlawful to bathe on Wednesdays and Fridays, and to eat the flesh of an animal that has been killed by a eunuch. But he rules that it is not allowable to taste an animal which has been hunted by a Christian if it has been killed by a pagan, or killed by a Christian if it has been hunted by a pagan. The Bulgarians had inquired whether they should adopt the habit of wearing drawers; he replied that it was a matter of no importance. It was the custom for their king to eat in solitary grandeur, not even his wife was permitted to sit beside him. The Pope observes that this is bad manners and that Jesus Christ did not disdain to eat with publicans and sinners, but candidly affirms that it is not wrong nor irreligious. He bids them substitute the cross for the horse's tail which was their military standard. He strictly prohibits the practice of pagan superstitions, the use of healing charms, and swearing by the sword. He commands them to discontinue the singing of songs and taking of auguries before battle, and exhorts them to prepare for combat by reciting prayers, opening prisons, liberating slaves, and bestowing alms. He condemns the superstition of *sortes biblicae* to which the Greeks resorted.<sup>2</sup>

A pleasing feature of the Pope's Responses is his solicitude to humanize the Bulgarians by advising them to mitigate their punishments in dealing with offenders. He sternly denounces, and supports his denunciation by the argument of common sense, the use of torture for extracting confessions from accused persons.<sup>3</sup> He condemns the measures which had been taken to destroy the rebels and their families as severe and unjust,<sup>4</sup> and censures the punishment which had been inflicted on the Greek who had masqueraded as a priest. He enjoins the right of asylum in churches, and lays down that even parricides and fratricides who seek the refuge of the sanctuary should be treated with mildness. But in the eyes of the medieval Christian, murder, which the unenlightened sense of antiquity regarded as the gravest criminal offence, was a more pardonable transgression than the monstrous sin of possessing two wives. "The crime of homicide," the Pope asserts, "the crime of Cain against Abel, could be wiped out in the ninth generation by the flood; but the heinous sin of adultery perpetrated by Lamech could not be atoned for till the seventy-seventh generation by the blood of Christ."<sup>5</sup> The Bulgarians are commanded, not indeed, as we might expect, to put the bigamist to death, but to compel him to repudiate the unfortunate woman who had the later claim upon his protection and to perform the penance imposed by the priest.

The treatment of unbelievers was one of the more pressing questions which Nicolas was asked to decide, and his ruling on this point has some interest for the theory of religious persecution. A distinction is drawn between the case of pagans who worship idols and refuse to accept the new faith, and the case of apostates who have embraced or promised to embrace it, but have slidden back into infidelity. No personal violence is to be offered to the former, no direct compulsion is to be applied, because con-

<sup>1</sup> Nic. Resp. 66 (cum ligatura lintei).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* 77.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* 86.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 387.

<sup>5</sup> Nic. Resp. 51.



version must be voluntary; but they are to be excluded from the society of Christians. In the case of a backslider, persuasive means should first be employed to recall him to the faith; but if the attempts of the Church fail to reform him, it is the duty of the secular power to crush him. "For if Christian governments did not exert themselves against persons of this kind, how could they render to God an account of their rule; for it is the function of Christian kings to preserve the Church their mother in peace and undiminished. We read that King Nebuchadnezzar decreed, when the three children were delivered from the flames, 'Whosoever shall blaspheme the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, shall perish, and their houses shall be destroyed.' If a barbarian king could be so wroth at blasphemy against the God of Israel because *he* could deliver three children from temporal fire, how much greater wrath should be felt by Christian kings at the denial and mockery of Christ who can deliver the whole world, with the kings themselves, from everlasting fire. Those who are convicted of lying or infidelity to kings are seldom if ever allowed to escape alive; how great should be the royal anger when men deny, and do not keep their promised faith to, Christ, the King of Kings and Lord of Lords. Be zealous with the zeal of God." Thus was the principle of the Inquisition laid down by Rome for the benefit of Bulgaria.

In the eyes of Boris the most important question submitted to the Pope was the appointment of a Patriarch. On this point Nicolas declined to commit himself. He said that he could not decide until he had heard the report of his legates; but he promised that in any case Bulgaria should have a bishop, and when a certain number of churches had been built, an archbishop, if not a Patriarch. The prospect of an archbishopric seems to have satisfied the king. He welcomed the papal legates and, expelling all other missionaries from the kingdom, committed to them exclusively the task of preaching and baptizing.<sup>1</sup> Formosus succeeded so well in ingratiating himself, that Boris destined him for the future archbishopric; but the Pope declined to spare him from his Italian see, and sent out other bishops and priests, promising to consecrate as archbishop whichever of them the king should select.

The Latin ecclesiastics worked for more than a year (A. D. 866-867) in the land which the Pope hoped he had annexed to the spiritual dominion of Rome.<sup>2</sup> Bulgaria, however, was not destined to belong to the Latin Church; her fate was linked in the religious as in the political sphere to Constantinople. But the defeat of papal hopes and the triumph of Byzantine diplomacy transcend the limits of the present volume.

### § 3. THE SLAVONIC APOSTLES

The Slavonic land of Moravia, which extended into the modern Hungary as far eastward as the river Gran, was split into small principalities, the rivalries of whose lords invited the interference of the Franks. The margraves of the East Mark looked on the country as a client state; the archbishops of Passau considered it as within their spiritual jurisdiction; and German ecclesiastics worked here and there in the land, though Christian

<sup>1</sup> *Vit. Nic. pap.* 157.

<sup>2</sup> For the denunciation of their practices by Photius, see above, Chap. VI. p. 200.



theology had penetrated but little into the wilds, and only by an abuse of terms could Moravia be described as Christian.<sup>1</sup> The Moravian Slavs chafed under a dependency which their own divisions had helped to bring about, and we have seen how Rostislav, a prince who owed his ascendancy in the land to the support of King Lewis the German, sent an embassy to Constantinople.

Ecclesiastical tradition affirms that his envoys, who arrived at the court of Michael III. in A. D. 862-863,<sup>2</sup> requested the Emperor to send to Moravia a teacher who knew Slavonic and could instruct the inhabitants in the Christian faith and explain the Scriptures. "Christian teachers have been amongst us already, from Italy, Greece, and Germany, teaching us contradictory doctrines; but we are simple Slavs and we want some one to teach us the whole truth."<sup>3</sup>

We may confidently reject this account of the matter as a legend. The truth probably is that, when the Moravian embassy arrived, the Patriarch Photius saw an opportunity of extending the influence of the Greek Church among the Slavs, and incidentally of counteracting, in a new field, the forms of Western Christianity which he so ardently detested. The suggestion may have come to him from his friend Constantine the Philosopher, a man of Thessalonica, who had a remarkable gift for languages and was a master of that Slavonic tongue which was spoken in the regions around his birth-place.

There is not the least reason to suppose that the family of Constantine (more familiarly known under his later name of Cyril) was not Greek.<sup>4</sup> His elder brother, Methodius, had entered the public service, had held the post of governor of some region where there were Slavonic settlements,<sup>5</sup> and had then retired to a monastery on Mt. Olympus in Bithynia. Constantine (born about A. D. 827)<sup>6</sup> had been devoted to learning from his youth. Legend said that at the age of seven years he had chosen, in a dream, Wisdom as his bride. The promise of his boyhood excited the interest of the statesman Theoktistos, who fetched him to Constantinople to complete his education. He pursued his studies under two eminent men of learning, Leo<sup>7</sup> and Photius. But he disappointed the hopes of his patron, who destined him for a secular career and offered him the hand of his god-daughter, a wealthy heiress. He took orders and acted for some time as librarian of the Patriarch's library, a post which, when Photius was Patriarch, could not have been filled by one who was not exceptionally proficient in learning. But Constantine soon buried himself in a cloister,<sup>8</sup> which he was with difficulty persuaded to leave, in order to occupy what may be described as an official

<sup>1</sup> At the Synod of Mainz in A. D. 852 we hear of the "rudis adhuc christianitas gentis Marahensium: *M. G. H. (Leg.)* i. 414. Cp. Jagić, *Entstehungsgeschichte*, i. 7.

<sup>2</sup> A. D. 860 or 861, acc. to Jagić, *Entstehungsgeschichte*, i. 6. As Constantine probably did not go to Moravia till A. D. 864 (see below, p. 396), it seems more likely that the embassy arrived in 863 or at earliest 862. So too Bretholz, *Geschichte Mährens*, 66. See above, p. 383, for its real object.

<sup>3</sup> *Vit. Meth.* c. 5; cp. *Translatio*, c. 7, "qui ad legendum eos et ad perfectam legem ipsam edoceat."

<sup>4</sup> Jireček's attempt to claim the apostles as Slavs (*Geschichte*, 151) is unconvincing.

<sup>5</sup> *Vit. Met.* c. 3, držati slovênsko, principatum Slovenicum.

<sup>6</sup> When he died (A. D. 869, February 14) he was 42 years old (*Vit. Const.* c. 18).

<sup>7</sup> See below, p. 436.

<sup>8</sup> On the *Stenon*, i. e. the Bosphorus (*Vit. Const.* c. 4).



chair of philosophy at Constantinople.<sup>1</sup> His biographer says that he was chosen by the Emperor to hold a disputation with Saracen theologians on the doctrine of the Trinity.<sup>2</sup> Subsequently he retired to live with his brother on Mount Olympus. He was in this retreat when envoys from the Chagan of the Khazars arrived at Constantinople and asked the Emperor to send him a learned man to explain the tenets of Christianity, so that the Khazars might judge between it and two other faiths, Judaism and Mohammadanism, which were competing for their acceptance. Michael, by the advice of Photius, entrusted the mission to Constantine, who, accompanied by Imperial envoys, travelled to Cherson with the embassy of the Khazars.<sup>3</sup> At Cherson he remained some months to learn the Khazar language,<sup>4</sup> and to seek for the body of St. Clement, the first bishop of Rome, who had suffered martyrdom in the neighbourhood. But St. Clement was a name almost forgotten by the natives, or rather the strangers,<sup>5</sup> who inhabited Cherson; the church near which his coffin had been placed on the seashore was fallen into decay; and the coffin itself had disappeared in the waves. But it was revealed to the Philosopher where he should search, and under miraculous guidance, accompanied by the metropolitan and clergy of Cherson, he sailed to an island, where diligent excavation was at length rewarded by the appearance of a human rib "shining like a star." The skull and then all the other parts of what they took to be the martyr's sacred body were gradually dug out, and the very anchor with which he had been flung into the sea was discovered. Constantine wrote a short history of the finding of the relics, in which he modestly minimized his own share in the discovery; and to celebrate the memory of the martyr he composed a hymn and a panegyrical discourse. Of his missionary work among the Khazars nothing more is stated<sup>6</sup> than that he converted a small number and found much favour with the Chagan, who showed his satisfaction by releasing two hundred Christian captives.

In this account of Constantine's career the actual facts have been transmuted and distorted, partly by legendary instinct, partly by deliberate invention. We need not hesitate to accept as authentic some of the incidents which have no direct bearing on his titles to fame, and which the following generation had no interest in misrepresenting. The date of his birth, for instance, the patronage accorded to him by the Logothete (Theoktistos), the circumstances that he taught philosophy and acted as librarian of the Patriarch, there is no reason to doubt.<sup>7</sup> His visit to the Khazars for missio-

<sup>1</sup> His friendship with Photius did not deter him from entering into a speculative controversy with the learned Patriarch, who had written a treatise to maintain the rash doctrine that two souls inhabited the human body. Anastasius, *Praef.* 6, "fortissimo eius amico."

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Appendix XI. The date, if the story were true, would be A. D. 851, since, according to the source, *Vit. Const.* 6, he was aged 24. The author of this life describes the debate at length.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. below, p. 423. The source for the discovery of the body of St. Clement is the *Translatio* of Gauderic, cp. Appendix XI.

<sup>4</sup> *Translatio*, c. 2. In *Vit. Const.* c. 8 he is represented as studying Hebrew and Samaritan at Cherson—Hebrew evidently for the purpose of disputing with the Jews.

<sup>5</sup> *Translatio*, *ib.*, "ut pote non indigenae, sed diversis ex gentibus advenae."

<sup>6</sup> *Vit. Const.* cc. 9, 10, 11, relates at length disputations at the court of the Khazars. Cp. Pastrnek, *Dějiny sl. Ap.* 58 sq., and see below, Appendix XI.

<sup>7</sup> These facts, known to Methodius, could have been handed down by him to his disciples, one of whom was probably the author of *Vit. Const.* The chronological order, of course, need not be accurate. For instance, it is natural to conjecture that the learned Con-



nary purposes is an undoubted fact, and even the panegyric tradition does not veil its failure, though it contrives to preserve his credit; but the assertion that he was sent in response to a request of the Chagan is of one piece with the similar assertion in regard to his subsequent mission to Moravia. His discovery of the body of St. Clement is a myth,<sup>1</sup> but underlying it is the fact that he brought back to Constantinople from Cherson what he and all the world supposed to be relics of the Roman saint.

The visit to the Khazars may probably be placed in the neighbourhood of A. D. 860,<sup>2</sup> and it was not long after Constantine's return to Constantinople that the arrival of the Moravian envoys suggested the idea of a new sphere of activity. We are quite in the dark as to how the arrangements were made, but it was at all events decided that Constantine and his brother Methodius should undertake the task of propagating Christianity in Moravia. They set out not later than in the summer of A. D. 864.<sup>3</sup>

According to the naïve story, which, as we have seen, represents Rostislav as begging for teachers, Constantine accomplished, in the short interval between the embassy and his departure, what was no less than a miracle. He invented a new script and translated one of the Gospels or compiled a Lectionary<sup>4</sup> in the Slavonic tongue. If we consider what this means we shall hardly be prepared to believe it. The alphabet of the early Slavonic books that were used by Constantine and his brother in Moravia was a difficult script, derived from Greek minuscule characters, so modified that the origin can only be detected by careful study. It would have been impossible to invent, and compose books in, this Glagolitic writing, as it is called, in a year. It has been suggested that the Macedonian Slavs already possessed an alphabet which they employed for the needs of daily life, and that what Constantine did was to revise this script and complete it, for the

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stantine, whom we know otherwise to have been intimate with Photius, was Patriarchal librarian under him, i. e. not earlier than A. D. 859. The narrative in *Vit. Const.* would certainly imply an earlier date.

<sup>1</sup> Anastasius believed in it, but he heard it from Metrophanes, bishop of Smyrna. Constantine himself, whom he knew personally (at Rome in A. D. 868), declined to say how the relics had been obtained (*Ep. ad Gaudericum*, apud Pastrnek, 247: "quae praedictus philosophus fugiens arrogantiae notam referre non passus est"). This admission enables us to judge the story. Cp. Franko, *Beiträge*, 236. Franko, in this article, points out that there was another legend which relates the discovery of St. Clement to the reign of Nicephorus I. (231 sqq.).

<sup>2</sup> If we assume that he was a librarian of Photius and that he held this office before the Khazar mission (as the *Vit. Const.* states). We have a certain confirmation of this in the probability that he could hardly have undertaken the mission until he was in priest's orders. As 30 was the minimum age (*Conc. Trull.* can. 14), and he was born in 827, he could not have been ordained priest before 857.

<sup>3</sup> According to *Vit. Const.* c. 15, they remained 40 months in Moravia; according to *Vit. Meth.* c. 6, 3 years. (The *Translatio*, c. 7, gives 4½ years, but there may be an error through confusion of iii. with iv.). They left probably before the end of A. D. 867; see below.

<sup>4</sup> Jagić, *op. cit.* i. 17, who thinks that Constantine's work as a translator consisted of (besides the Lectionary) liturgical books containing psalms and prayers. These books may have been begun before his arrival in Moravia, but the evidence of the old Glagolitic Psalter (ed. by Geitler in 1883) points to the conclusion that some of the Psalms were translated in Moravia (*ib.* ii. 51). For the consultation of the Latin text (likely in Moravia, highly improbable at Constantinople) is evident in several passages, e. g. *Ps.* 118, 130, ἡ δόξα σου τῶν λόγων σου φωτισεῖ καὶ συνετισεῖ νηπιόους where the Slavonic *razum daet* for *συνετισεῖ* is obviously influenced by the Latin *intellectum dat*.



more accurate rendering of the sounds of Slavonic speech, by some additional symbols which he adapted from Hebrew or Samaritan.<sup>1</sup> His work would then have been similar to that of Wulfilas, who adapted the Runic alphabet already in use among the Goths and augmented it by new signs for his literary purpose. But we have no evidence of earlier Slavonic writing; and the Glagolitic forms give the impression that they were not the result of an evolution, but were an artificial invention, for which the artist took Greek minuscules as his guide, but deliberately set himself to disguise the origin of the new characters.

It must have been obvious to Constantine that the Greek signs themselves without any change, supplemented by a few additional symbols, were an incomparably more convenient and practical instrument. And, as a matter of fact, his name is popularly associated with the script which ultimately superseded the Glagolitic. The Cyrillic script, used to this day by the Bulgarians, Servians, and Russians, is simply the Greek uncial alphabet, absolutely undisguised, expanded by some necessary additions. That tradition is wrong in connecting it with Cyril, it is impossible to affirm or deny; it is certain only that he used Glagolitic for the purpose of his mission to Moravia and that for a century after his death Glagolitic remained in possession. To expend labour in manufacturing such symbols as the Glagolitic and to use them for the purpose of educating a barbarous folk, when the simple Greek forms were ready to his hand, argues a perversity which would be incredible if it had not some powerful motive. It has been pointed out that such a motive existed.<sup>2</sup> In order to obtain a footing in Moravia, it was necessary to proceed with the utmost caution. There could be no question there, in the existing situation, of an open conflict with Rome or of falling foul of the German priests who were already in the country. Rostislav would never have acquiesced in an ecclesiastical quarrel which would have increased the difficulties of his own position. The object of Photius and Constantine, to win Moravia ultimately from Rome and attach her to Byzantium, could only be accomplished by a gradual process of insinuation. It would be fatal to the success of the enterprise to alarm the Latin Church at the outset, and nothing would have alarmed it more than the introduction of books written in the Greek alphabet. Glagolitic solved the problem. It could profess to be a purely Slavonic script, and could defy the most suspicious eye of a Latin bishop to detect anything Greek in its features. It had the further advantage of attracting the Slavs, as a proper and peculiar alphabet of their own.

But the important fact remains that the invention of Glagolitic and the compilation of Glagolitic books required a longer time than the short interval between the Moravian embassy and the departure of the two apostles. There is no ground for supposing, and it is in itself highly improbable, that the idea of a mission to that distant country had been conceived before the arrival of Rostislav's envoys. Moreover, if the alphabet and books had been expressly designed for Moravian use, it is hard to understand why Constantine should have decided to offer his converts a literature written in a different speech from their own. He translated the Scripture into the dialect of Macedonian Slavonic, which was entirely different from

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Jagić, *op. cit.* ii. 28.

<sup>2</sup> Brückner, 219 *sq.*



the Slovák tongue spoken in Moravia.<sup>1</sup> It is true that the Macedonian was the only dialect which he knew, and it was comparatively easy for the Moravians to learn its peculiarities; but if it was the needs of the Moravian mission that provoked Constantine's literary services to Slavonic, the natural procedure for a missionary was to learn the speech of the people whom he undertook to teach, and then prepare books for them in their own language.

The logical conclusion from these considerations is that the Glagolitic characters were devised, and a Slavonic ecclesiastical literature begun, not for the sake of Moravia, but for a people much nearer to Byzantium. The Christianization of Bulgaria was an idea which must have been present to Emperors and Patriarchs for years before it was carried out, and Constantine must have entertained the conviction that the reception of his religion by the Bulgarian Slavs would be facilitated by procuring for them Scripture and Liturgy in their own tongue and in an alphabet which was not Greek. That he had some reason for this belief is shown by the resistance which Glagolitic offered in Bulgaria to the Greek (Cyrillic) alphabet in the tenth century. The Slavs of Bulgaria spoke the same tongue as the Slavs of Macedonia, and it was for them, in the first instance, that the new literature was intended. The Moravian opportunity unexpectedly intervened, and what was intended for the Slavs of the south was tried upon the Slavs beyond the Carpathians — *experimentum in corpore vili*.

"If Constantine had been really concerned for the interests of the Moravians themselves, he would have written for them in their own language, not in that of Salonika, and in the Latin, not in an artificially barbarous or Greek, alphabet."<sup>2</sup> But he was playing the game of ecclesiastical policy; Photius was behind him; and the interest of the Moravian adventure was to hoodwink and out-manoeuvre Rome.

The adventure was a failure so far as Moravia itself was concerned. It brought no triumph or prestige to the Church of Constantinople, and the famous names of Constantine and Methodius do not even once occur in the annals of the Greek historians.

The two apostles taught together for more than three years in Moravia, and seem to have been well treated by the prince. But probably before the end of A. D. 867 they returned to Constantinople,<sup>3</sup> and in the following year proceeded to Rome. Pope Nicolas, hearing of their activity in Moravia, and deeming it imperative to inquire into the matter, had addressed to them an apostolic letter, couched in friendly terms and summoning them to Rome. They had doubtless discovered for themselves that their position would be soon impossible unless they came to terms with the Pope. The accession of Basil and the deposition of Photius changed the situation. A Patriarch who was under obligations to the Roman See was now enthroned, and Constantine and Methodius, coming from Constantinople and bearing as

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<sup>1</sup> Cp. Jagić, *op. cit.* i. 9-11. Slovák belongs to the Bohemian group of Slavonic languages.

<sup>2</sup> Brückner (219), with whose views in the main points I agree, though I do not go so far as to reject the embassy of Rostislav.

<sup>3</sup> *Vit. Meth.* c. 5, "reversi sunt ambo ex Moravia." This statement, inconsistent with other sources which describe their journey to Rome through Pannonia and by Venice, is obviously right; for Constantine brought the relics of Clement to Rome, and it is not to be supposed that he would have taken, or been allowed to take, them to Moravia from Constantinople. Their arrival in Rome was probably in 868; the *post quem* limit is Dec. 14, 867; see next note.



a gift the relics of St. Clement, could be sure of a favourable reception. They found that a new Pope had succeeded to the pontifical chair.<sup>1</sup> Hadrian II., attended by all the Roman clergy, went forth at the head of the people to welcome the bearers of the martyr's relics, which, it is superfluous to observe, worked many miracles and cures.

The Pope seems to have approved generally of the work which Constantine had inaugurated. Methodius and three of the Moravian disciples were ordained priests;<sup>2</sup> but Moravia was not made a bishopric and still remained formally dependent on the See of Passau. Hadrian seems also to have expressed a qualified approval of the Slavonic books. The opponents of the Greek brethren urged that there were only three sacred tongues, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, appealing to the superscription on the Cross. The Pope is said to have rejected this "Pilatic" dogma in its extreme form, and to have authorized preaching and the reading of the Scriptures in Slavonic; but he certainly did not, as was afterwards alleged, license the singing of the service of the Mass in the strange tongue, even though it were also chanted in Latin,<sup>3</sup> nor did he cause the Slavonic liturgy to be recited in the principal churches of Rome.<sup>4</sup>

At this time, the most learned man at Rome was the librarian Anastasius, who knew Greek, kept himself in contact with the Greek world, and translated into Latin the Chronicle of Theophanes. He made the acquaintance of Constantine, of whose character and learning he entertained a profound admiration. Writing at a later time to the Western Emperor, Anastasius mentions that Constantine knew by heart the works of Dionysios the Areopagite and recommended them as a powerful weapon for combating heresies.<sup>5</sup> But the days of Constantine the Philosopher were numbered. He fell ill and was tonsured as a monk, assuming the name of Cyril. He died on February 14, A. D. 869,<sup>6</sup> and his body was entombed near the altar in the church which had been newly erected in honour of St. Clement.<sup>7</sup>

The subsequent career of Methodius in Moravia and Pannonia lies outside our subject. He was in an untenable position, and the forces against him were strong. He was determined to celebrate mass in Slavonic, yet he depended on the goodwill of the Roman See. His disciples, soon after their master's death, were compelled to leave the country, and they found a more promising field of work in Bulgaria, the land for which, as we have seen reason to think, Cyril's literary labours were originally intended.

<sup>1</sup> Nicolas died A. D. 867, Nov. 13, Hadrian succeeded Dec. 14.

<sup>2</sup> *Vit. Meth.* c. 6. The addition to the *Translatio* (c. 9 *ad. fin.*) states that both Constantine and Methodius were consecrated bishops, and this is accepted by Snopek, *op. cit.* 126 *sqq.* Methodius became bishop of Pannonia at a later period (*Vit. Meth.* c. 8 *ad. fin.*).

<sup>3</sup> See the spurious letter of Hadrian in *Vit. Meth.* c. 8.

<sup>4</sup> *Vit. Const.* c. 17.

<sup>5</sup> *Ep. ad Car.*, *apud* Ginzel, *Anhang*, p. 44. Anastasius is mentioned in *Vit. Const.* c. 17 — one of the details which show that the writer (who also knew that Constantine's disciples were consecrated by bishops Formosus and Gauderic) had some good information.

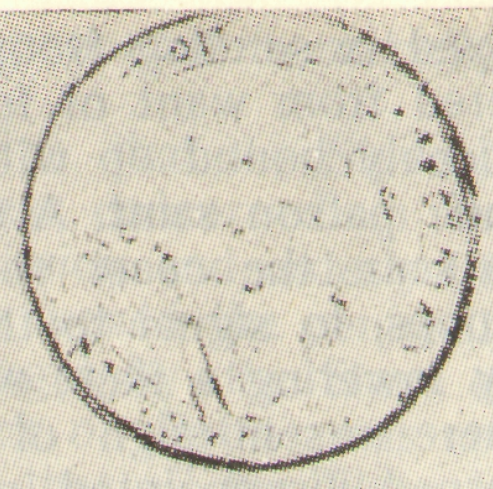
<sup>6</sup> *Vit. Const.* c. 18; *Translatio*, c. 10.

<sup>7</sup> It was built by Gauderic, bishop of Velletri, who was interested in St. Clement, to whom the Church of Velletri was dedicated (Anastasius, *Ep. ad Gaudericum*). On old frescoes discovered close to the place where Constantine was buried, representing the translation of the saint's relics into the church, the inscription ACIRIL occurs (apparently referring to their discovery and restoration by Cyril). Rossi dates the frescoes to the tenth century. See *Bullettino di archeologia cristiana*, i. 9 *sqq.*, 1863; ii. 1 *sqq.*, 1864; and G. Wilpert, *Le pitture della basilica primitiva di San Clemente* (1906). Cp. Pastrnek, *op. cit.* 91.



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A HISTORY  
OF THE  
EASTERN ROMAN EMPIRE

FROM THE FALL OF IRENE TO THE  
ACCESSION OF BASIL I.

(A.D. 802-867)

BY

J. B. BURY

RETIRED PROFESSOR OF MODERN HISTORY  
AND FELLOW OF KING'S COLLEGE, IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

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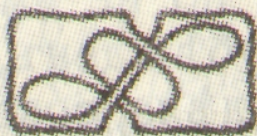
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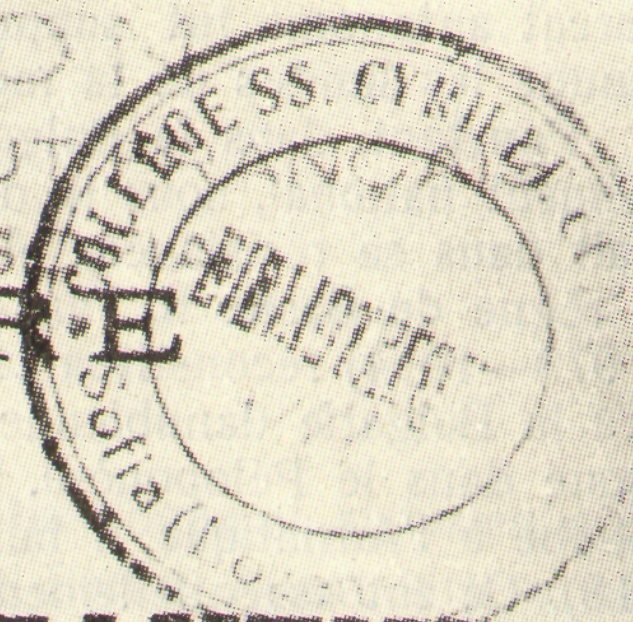
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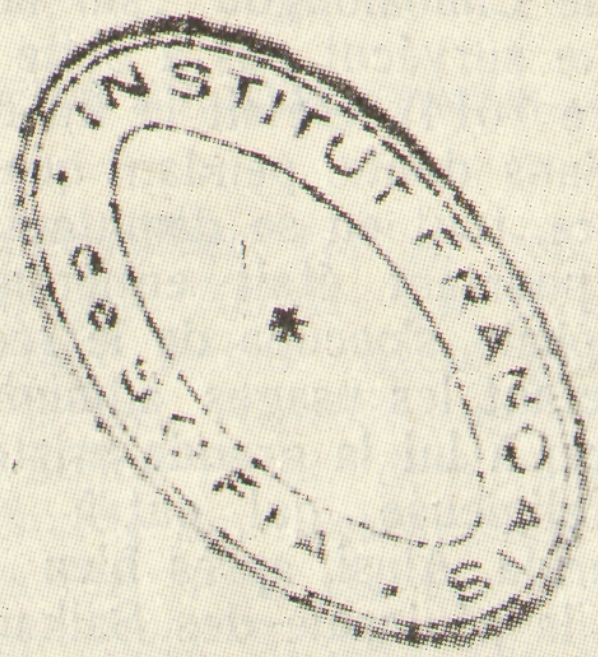


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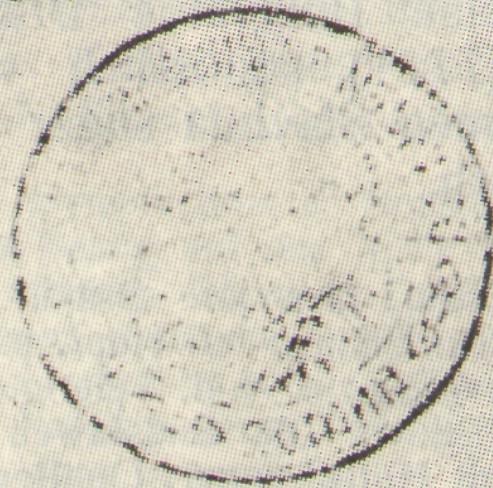
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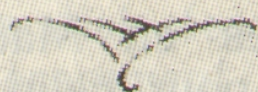
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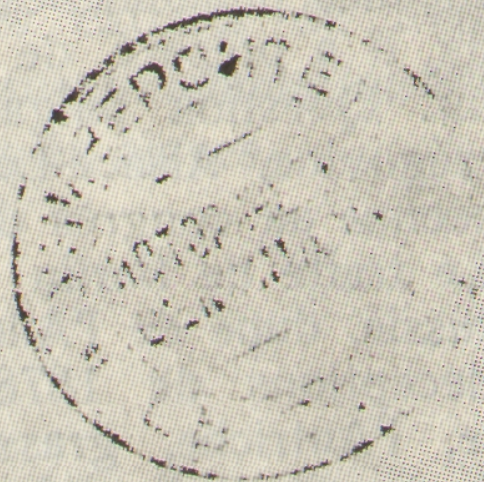
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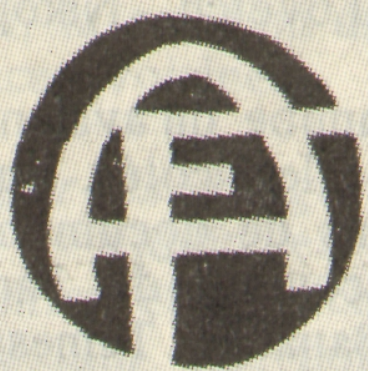
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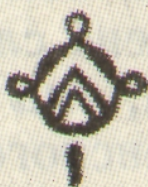
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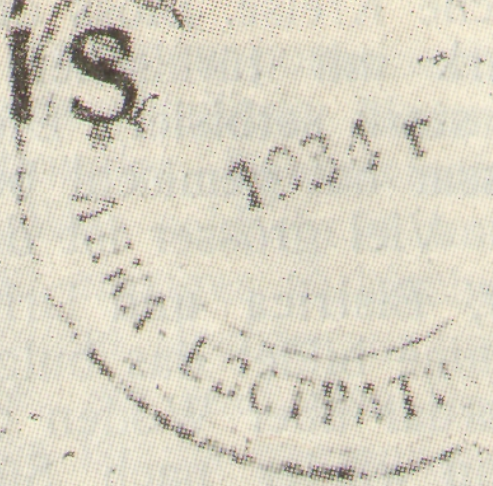


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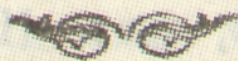
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Дадена за набор на 30. IV. 1969 г.  
Подписана за печат на 9. VII. 1969 г.  
Формат 71×100/16 Тираж 5000

ЛГ II-6

Печ. коли 27,50 Изд. коли 32,73

Цена 5 лв.

\*

Набрана и отпечатана в Печатницата на Издателството на БАН  
София, кв. Гео Милев, ул. 36  
Поръчка № 315